

THE
M Y S T E R I E
OF THE
T W O 'JVNTO'S,
P R E S B Y T E R I A N and I N D E P E N D E N T .

O R ,
T H E S E R P E N T I N T H E
B O S O M E V N E O L D E D ,

Newly re-printed, with large Additions.

P E T R O N . A R B I T E R .

*O m n e s n o b i s c u m a u t C o r v i q u i l a c e r a n t ,
a u t C a d a v e r a q u æ l a c e r a n t n r .*



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1917 NOV

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To my dread Soveraigne.

Royall Sir,

You have drunke deepe in the Cup of affliction, and we all have Pledged you; it is wholsome though bitter; but let us pray to God to remove this Cup in time, for the dregs and lees are poysone. You have learned by over-winding the strings of authority; how to tune the People of this Monarchy without breaking their patience hereafter. Most Princes desire unlimited power which is a saile too great for any Vessel of mortallity to bear; though it be never so well Ballasted with Justice, Wisedome, Moderation and Piety, yet one flarbe or other will indanger the oversetting it. Those Common-wealths are most stable and pleasing where the State is so mixed, that every man (according to his degree and capacity) hath some interest therein to content him. The King, Soveraigne Command and Power: The Nobility and Gentry, a derivative Authority and Magistracy, and all enjoy their Lawes, Liberties and Properties. God hath cursed him that removeth the Boundmarks of his neighbour: this is a comprehensive Curse, Kings enlarging their Prerogatives beyond their limits, are not excepted from it. You may be pleased to take heed therefore of two sorts of men, most likely to mislead you in this point. Ambitious Lawyers, who teach the Law to speak, not what the Legislators meant, but what you shall seeme to desire: To avoyd this snare, suffer your Parl. to nominate 3. men for every Judges place, out of which you may please to choose one, as in pricking of Sheriffs. For it is the people that are obnoxious to their wickednesse: you are above the reach of their malice. The 2. sort is Parasiticall Divines: These ear-wigs are alwayes hovering in Princes Courts

hanging in their eares. They take upon them to make Princes beholding to their violent wresting of the text, to bestow upon them whatever Prerogative the Kings of Juda and Israel used or usurped, as if the Judicalls of Moses were appointed by God for all Common-wealthes. all Kings : as a good Bishoprick or living is fit for every Priest that can catch it. These men having their best hopes of preferment from Princes, make Divinity to be but Organon Politicum, an instrument of Government : and harden the hearts of Princes Pharaoh-like : Kings delight to be tickled by such venerable, warrantable flattery. Sir you have more meanes to prefer them then other men, therefore they apply themselves more to ye: then other men doe. Tu facis hunc Dominum, Te facit ille Deum. The King makes the poor Priest a Lord ; and rather then he will be behinde with the King in courtesie, he will flatter him above the condition of a mortall, and make him a God Royall. Sir, permit me to give you this Antidote against this Poyson ; let an Act be passed, That all such Divines, as either by Preaching, Writing, or Discourfing, shall advance your Prerogative and Power above the known Lawes and Liberties of the Land, Forfeite all his Ecclesiasticall preferments ipso facto, and be incapable ever after, and for ever banished your Court. But above all, learn to trust in your own judgement : Plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere noli : God hath enabled you to remember things past, to observe things present, and by comparing them together, to conjecture things to come ; which are the three parts of wisdome that will much honour and advantage you : God keep your Majestie, so prays

YOR Humble Subject,

THEOPH. VERAX.

To his Excellency Sir Tho: Fairfax,
and the Army under his Command.

MY Lord & Gentlemen, I have here by way of preparation laid open to your view, those ulcers which you have undertaken to Cure, (viz.) The 2. *Factions in Parliament*, Authors of Schismes and Divisions in the two Houses, from whence they are derived to the whole Kingdome, to the obstructing of Justice, and of the establishment of our *Laws, Rights, Liberties, and Peace*: the enslaving of the Parliament it selfe, and the dilapidating of the Publique Treasure: whereby the whole Kingdome may be enfranchised, secured and united: and the King and his Posterity settled in his due Rights. Which is the summe of all your undertakings in your many reiterated Papers I confess a *Heroulean labour*, and farre beyond his clensing of the *Augean stable*. That was performed by an Arme of Flesh, This cannot be effected without an extraordinary calling (for ordinary calling thereto you have none ; and God seldom blesleth a man out of his calling) and though an Heroique heat and zeal may goe farre, yet it will tire many miles on this side the work, unlesse it be blown and inspired with divine breath. And as *Alchymists* say of the *Philosophers stone*, so I of this worke (which is the *Philosophers stone* in our English Politiques) it cannot be effected but by a man of wonderfull and unspotted integrity and innocency ; free from all fraud, self-seeking, and Partiality. In Order to this great worke you have already begun to sift and winnow the House of Commons by charging 11. Presbyterian Grandees : who, if they be proved guilty, must needs have their counterpanes equally faulty, even to a Syllable, in the opposite *Junto* of Independents : for when two factions shall conspire to toss and keep up the Golden ball of Government, Profit, and Preferment between them, neither can be innocent ; unlesse therefore you apply your corrective to one ulcer as well as the other ; you will never worke a compleat cure, *Nor will be free from scandal and appearance of faction or tation*.
designe(that I may use your owne words) to weaken onely one Party P.6. S.2.

(under the notion of unjust or oppressive) that you may advance another more your owne. Besides it is observed, that you speake but coldly to haue the Publike Accounts of the Kingdome Stated: putting it off with a wish only, as if you did secretly feare what the Presbyterians openly say, that the Independents are guilty of more Millions then their Party; your own words are. *We could wish the Kingdom might both be righted and publickly satisfied in point of Accounts for the vast summes that have beeene leavyed: as also in many other things, &c. But we are loath to prese any thing that may lengthen disputes.* Are so many Millions to be cursorily passed over without dispute? were they not the blood and teares of the exhausted people, and the milk of their babes? Are they not like Achans wedge amongst us? Would it not much ease the people of their burthenes, and goe farre in the payment of Souldiers and Publicke debts, to have both the Kings and the Parliaments Spunges (of what Party and Profession soever) squeezed into the Common Treasury whensoever the Common-wealth settles? Review this clause well, and as the Parliament hath altered some votes for you, so doe you alter this Clause for the people; who long not only to see the Kingdome, but also our new-made Gentlemen *in statu quo prius*. Gentlemen, you that will give Counsell, will take it without offence against him that dares lay as good claime to justice and honesty as your selves.

THEODORUS VERAX.

To the un-byassed Reader.

Yon that are byassed with selfe-respects I write not to, you have your Aimes; and your Ends (before you are aware like Sh or, not feared till felt) will come upon you. To the upright in heart, though mis-led in judgement, I speake. Consider how by a prevaricating number of Grandees our first principles are altered; our Religion into Schisme, & Hypocritical profaneness; Insomuch that the Lords Supper is now almost every where discontinued, for want of (I know not what) imaginary Utopian holiness. The Creed, Lords Prayer, & ten Commandements, (the instruments of Faith, Hope, Charity, teaching Omnia credenda, speranda & facienda) left out of the Directory. Thus much for Religion.

Our known Lawes (being the second Principle held out to the People by the Nationall Covenant, and many Declarations) are turned into Arbitrary, emergent, and up-start Orders and Ordinances of Parliament; every day rising, and every day withering like Mushromes. So that we are now governed Jure vago & incerto, by a leaden Lesbyan rule, to which we cannot square our obedience and actions, but must stay till the Grandees that guid the Legislative power of Parliament make application of them to our actions. A great miserie.

The third Principle is our Liberties. What is become of them, this little treatise will tell you, as also of our properties. But stay! me thinks I heare men say, that the clamour and danger mutining at the Parliament doore these two last weeks, hath humbled our Grandees, and made them seeke the Lord with Fasting and prayer, I answer, let me tell you what succeeded in the House of Commons, when a Letter and Declaration from the Army being tendered to be read, some of the Grandees answered, that if they should read those demands, they might chance to finde them of that nature, as they can neither with justice deny them, nor with honour grant them, because it was not honourable for them to doe their dutie upon admonition of their Army, being but their servants, and would favour of conspulsion. To prevent this, they resolved to take into consideration freely, and of their own accord, the Grievances which scandalized the people. They went there-

fore upon 3. Heads : 1. The Selfe-denying Ordinance. Upon which they Voted (as they said by a Preparatory Vote only) That all Members holding any Offices, Grants, or Places by concession of the Parliament, shall account for, and pay in the profits therof to the Grand Committee of Accounts. This I conceive (under favour of the Grandees, who posseſſe those places, and contrived this Vote) to be a mere delusory Order : For who can beleieve that such ſelfe-seeking men, as all men know them to be, will execute those offices for nothing, and pay in, to the uſe of the State, their profits. Besides, it is apparent how ſubſervient to these Grandees, their owne creatures, the Committee of Accounts are.

2. They Voted, That no money hereafter ſhould be given to any Member in compensation or recompence of his loſſes, untill the Publique Debts be paid. Here the Grandees were in earnest, because their owne turnes are already ſerved, and the loſſe and inconvenience of this Vote falls onely upon the much contemned Middle or Moderate Members.

3. They appointed a Committee to conſider how to take off the Grievance arifing from ſuch Members as abuſing the Priviledge of Parliament, refuſe to pay their debts.

Proh Superi ! quantum mortalia pectora cæca
Noctis habent ; Ipſo ſceleris molimine Tereus
Creditur eſſe pius ; laudemq; a criminē ſumit.

Let not the Grandees be offendēd, that I diſcover thoſe ſickneſſes which they labour to cover ; Ante morbos, neceſſe eſt, cognitos eſſe, quam remedia eorum. God onely can be the AEsculapius, and cure them. But I am afraid they deſire rather a ſlight ſappurating, then a perfect cure ; and that they pray rather to hide, then help their evils.

Da fallere, iuſtum, ſanctumq; videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

If this be their condition, quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos dementat ; quos tueri vult, fulicit. I have done my duty even in this generation, quando dicere quod nolo miserum, quod volo & debo periculouſum, I leave the ſuſceſſe to God, reſting,

Thine,

TIBODORUS VERAX.

The Mysterie of the two Junto's, Presbyterian and Independent, with some Additions.

1.
THe Kingdome being overgrown with *Prerogative, Corruption, and Superstition*, (the fruits of a long and lazie peace) by a long discontinuance of Parliaments; At last by Providence his Majesty was necessitated to call a Parliament, the onely Colledge of Physicians to purge the much distempered body of the Common-wealth.

2.
 In this Parliament a contest between the *Kings Prerogative and the Peoples Lawes and Liberties* begat a war. The *Divines* on both sides out of their Pulpits sounding Alarume thereto: and not only *Sermons*, but *Declarations of Parliament*, and the *Nationall Covenant*, holding forth to the people the defence of Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and Properties, inflamed the people to the rage of battell, as the Elephant is enraged at the sight of Red. This War occasioned extraordinary Taxes and Levies of money, such as were never heard of by our Ancestors, and were *Irritamenta malorum*, the nurse of our corruptions.

3.
 This incentive working upon the humane frailty of the speaking and leading members of the Houses, caused them first to interweave their particular interests and ambitions with the publique, and lastly to prefer them before the publique.

4.
 Wherefore the said *Leading men or Grandees* (for that is now Parliament language) First divided themselves into *two factions* *Grandees.* or *Junto's, Presbyterians and Independents*; seeming to look onely upon the Church, but (Religion having the strongest operation upon the spirit of man) involved the interests of the Commonwealth.

The common people of the Two Houses following (with an implicite faith and blind obedience) the example of their leaders, divided themselves also into the said Dichotomy; which they did with more seriousnesse then their leaders, as not perceiving any thing of designe therein: But according to the diversity of their judgements, or rather fancies and confidings (for to resigne a mans

mans judgment to the opinion of another man is but a silly trust and confidence) studied the upholding of their parties with earnestnesse; whilst the Grandees of each party in private close together for their own advancement, serving one anothers turn.

6. The *Grandees* (in all publique debates) seem as reall in their reciprocall oppositions, as those silly ones who are in earnest, whereby they cherish the zeale of their respective parties, keepe them still divided, (*Divide & impera* is the devils rule) and so amuse them, and take them off from looking after other interests, in which, were they conjoyned, they might share with the Grandees themselves: and for the better contentment of such their Confidants as look too intentively after their owne gain, the Grandees of each *Junto* confer somthing of advantage upon those that are subservient to them, as five pounds a week, or some petty imployment.

7. The seeds of these factions spread themselves into the Common-wealth and Armies, as Rheume distils from the head into all the body.

8. *Monopolizing profits and preferments.* Thus the leading men or Bell-wethers having *seemingly divided themselves*, and having *really divided the Houses*, and captivated their respective parties judgment, teaching them by an Implicite faith *furare in verba Magistri*, to pin their opinions upon their sleeves; They begin to advance their Projects of Monopolizing the profits, preferments, and Power of the Kingdome in themselves. To which purpose, though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is observed that a powerfull Independent especially moves for a Presbyterian: or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent: & seldom doth one oppose or speake against another, in such cases, unlesse somthing of particular spleene or Competition come betweene, which causeth them to break the common Rule. By this meanes the Grandees of each faction sel-dome misse their mark, since an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his reputation carries the businesse cleare with the Independent party: and the Presbyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side. By this artifice the Grandees of each Side share the Common-wealth between them: And are now become proud, domineering *Rehoboams*, even over the rest of their fellow

fellow members, contrarie to the liberty of Parl. which consists in an equality) that were formerly fawning, abitious Absaloms.

There hath beene lately given away to members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheats mutually con-nived at) at least 300000l. in money; besides rich offices, Im- plements in money Committees, Sequestrations and other ad-vantages. And those members who have so well served them-selves under colour of serving the publike, are, for the most part, old Canvassers of Factions who have sate idlely and safely in the house watching their advantages to confound businesseſ, and thuffle the cardes to make their owne game, when others that have ventured their persons abroad, labour'd in the publike work like Israelites under these Egyptian task-masters, and lost their e-states, are left to starve, untill they can find relieve in that empty bag called by fooles *fides publica*, by wise men *fides punica*. And are now looked upon in the House superciliously, like unwel-come guests, for it is known how malignantly and how juglingly writs for new elections were granted and executed, and called *younger brothers*, and like younger brothers they are used: their elder brothers having slipped into the world before them, and anticipated the inheritance; They have broken first into the com-mon field, & shut the doore to prevent after comers even from gleaning after their full harvest. For the better effecting whereof they have now morgaged, in effect, all the meanes they have to raise money unto the City. And being themselves fat and full with the publike Treasure, to expresse rather their scorne then care, they are making an Ordinance that no more money shall be given to their Members: And yet to shew how carefull they are of all such as have *cheated the Common-wealth under them*, I will not say *for them*: They have taken advantage of the petition of the Army: wherein they desired Indempnitie for all acts done in Relation to the Warre. And have passed an Ordinance of In-dempnity for all such, as have acted *by authority and for the service* of the Parliament, wherein, under great penalties, and with an ap-peal at last from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Par-liment, such as have gone beyond the authority given by Par-liment, and sequestred men unjustly, and so withheld their goods under pretence thereof, and such as have leavyed taxes three or

soure times over, are quit from private actions : and the benefit of Law and Justice taken from the Oppressed, to secure *Country Committees, Sequestrators* and others (not *Prerogative*, but *Legislative*) *Theeves*; contrary to *Magna Charta*, which sayes, *nulli negabimus, nulli differemus justitiam, aut rectum*; We will deny, nor defer justice and right to no man. Oh prodigious acts, and of greater tyrannie then any King ever durst adventure upon ! What is become of our *Nationall Cov.* and the Parliaments many *Declarations* for defence of Lawes and Liberties ? Or have we fought our liberty into slavery? By these devices the *honest middle men* of the house (whose consciences will not let them joyne in any faction to rend the Common-wealth in sunder) are out of all possibility of repaire, and made contemptible as well by their owne wants, as the pride of the Grandees : and in the end, their poverty wil inforce them to leave the sole possession of the house to these *thriving Junto men*, who do beleaguer them therein, making them (for farther addition to their losses) pay all taxes, from which the thriving men go free: so that the poorer part of the house payes tribute to the richer. Nay it is farther whispered, that at last the *Junto men* will quit the Parliament Priviledge of not being sued, purposely to leave these younger Brothers to the mercy of their Creditors, and disable them to sit in their House.

10. Another ambitious ayme of those *Junto men* is their devise of *Committees* referring all busynesses of moment to *Committees*. For the active *of the Houses* speaking men by mutuall agreement naming one another of every Committee (or at least their confident Ministers) do thereby *fore-stall and intercept* the busynesses of the House, and under colour of examining and preparing matters, they report them to the house with what glosses, additions, detractions, and advantages they please; whereby the House (judging according to their report) oftentimes mis-judgeth, and if it be a busynesse they are willing to smother, the Committees have infinite artificial delays to put it off, and keep it from a hearing, or at least from reporting. By this meanes the remaining part of the House are but cyphers to value, and Suffragans to ratifie what is forejudged by the said Committees. This usurpation of theirs is much helped by keeping the doors of their Committee roomes shut, and dispatching all affaires privately and in the dark. Whereas Justice delights

delights in the light, and ought to be as publique as the common aire, it being against its nature to be chambred up and kept from the observation of eye, and eare-witnesses.

And by their examining of men against themselves, contrary to *Magna Charta*, they much inlarge their power.

Parts of this project wee may well call the *Multiplicity of money Committees*, as Goldsmithes-hall, Haberdashers-hall, the Committee of the Kings Revenues, Committee of the Army, &c. Where everie mans profit and power is according to his cunning and conscience. Hereby they draw a generall dependency after them, for he that commands the money, commands the men : These Committee-men are so powerfull that they over-awe and over-power their fellow members, contrary to the nature of a free Parliament: wherein the equality of the members must main-taine the freedome and integrity thereof, and supprese factions.

The like may be said of such members as (in scorn of the self-denying Ordinances) hold offices by gift or connivence of the Parliament: either openly in their own name, or secretly in the name of some friend. Their offices enabling them to do courtesies and discourtesies. And although there hath bin a Committee appointed to certifie all pensions, Sequestrations, offices, imployments of advantage and profits conferred by the Parliament upon any their members, in which Committee M. Sands holdeth the chair; yet is this meerly a formallity to blind the eyes of the world, and foole the expectation of some losing members, who were then resolute to know who had already received satisfaction for their losses, and how farre they had out-run their fellow-members therein. Yet this Committee is now let fall, no reports demanded of M. Sands: and when anie is to be made, they are not unprovided of a meanes to make it fruitlesse, by putting every particular to debate: well knowing that no man will be willing to argue against the particular persons and merits of his fellow-members, and thereby heap envy upon his owne head ; besides the delay of a particular debate.

How frequently the *Country Committees* act contrary to the Lawes of the Land: how they trample *Magna Charta* under their feet, how boldly and avowedly they transgres all Orders and Committees.

11.

Money Committees

12.

Members holding Offices, &c.

13.

Country Committees

Ordinances of Parliament, and break our Solemne League and Covenant, how they ordinarily turne well-affected men out of their free-holds and goods, imprison and beat their persons without any known charge, accuser, or witness against them. Nay murther them, as in the case of Doctor *Rawleygh* killed in prison at *Welles* by the Committees Marshall. And the poor men murthered at *Bridgewater*, whose blouds were shed like the bloud of a dog, and no reall prosecution therefore. How frequently they leavie one taxe three or four times over, and continue their leavyes after the Ordinances expire. How cruelly they raise the twentieth and fifth part upon the well-affected; exercising an illegall, arbitrary, tyrannicall power over their fellow subjects, farre higher then ever *Strafford* or *Canterbury* durst advise the King to. How ignorantly and unjustly they exercise a power *to heare and determine*, or rather *to determine without hearing*, or *heare without understanding*, *private controversies of Meum & Tuum, for debts, trespasses, nay title and possession of Lands* without either formality or knowledge of the Law, not having wit, manners nor breeding enough, as being chosen for the greatest part, out of the basest of the people for base ends, to satisfy men with an outside, or Complement of justice: Insomuch that nothing is now more common, then an accusation without an Accuser, a sentence without a Judge, and a condemnation without a hearing. How they exclude all other Magistracy, ingrossing to themselves the power of Sherifffes, Justices of Peace, Church-wardens, &c. in an arbitrary way: Keeping Troupes of Horse upon Pay and Free-quarter for their guards, like the 3c. Tyrants of *Athens*: And if any man but speak of calling them to give Account, they presently vote him a Delinquent, and sequester him. If any man, I say, be so deaf as not to heare the loud universall outcryng of the people; so great a stranger in our Israel as not to know these truths, let him peruse M. *Edward Kings* discoverie of the arbitrarie actions of the Committee of *Lincolne*, and the Heads of Grievances of *Glamorganshire*, printed 1647. where he may see these things briefly Epitomized: But to historize them at large would require a column as big as the book of *Martyrs*. These Committees are excellent sponges to suck money from the people, and to serve not only their own, but also the Covetous, Malicious,

licious, ambitious ends, of those that raked them out of the dung-hill for that imployment, and do defend them in their oppressions. Who is so blind as not to see that these men have their protectors? The *Damones* to whom they offer up part of their rapins; to whom they sacrifice,

Occulta spotia, & plures de pace Triumphos.

If there be any intention to restore our Lawes and Liberties, & free us from Arbitrary Government: it is fit these Committees and all associations be laid downe, having no enemy to associate against, and that the old form of Government by Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, &c. be re-established; and the *Militia* in each County settled as before, in Lievtants, and Deputy Lievtants, or in Commissioners.

The rather because the people are now generally of opinion, They may as easily find Charity in Hell as Justice in any Committee; and that the King hath taken downe one Starre-Chamber, and the Parliament hath set up an hundred.

Nor is it a small artifice to raise money by so many severall and confused Taxes. Whereas one or two wayes orderly used and well husbanded, would have done the work. 1. Royall Subsidie of 300000. l. 2. Pole money. 3. The free Loanes and Contributions upon the Publique Faith amounted to a vast incredible summe in Money, Plate, Horse, Arnes, &c. 4. The Irish Adventure for sale of Lands the first and second time. 5. The Weekly Meale. 6. The Citie Loane after the rate of 50. Subsidies. 7. The Assessment for bringing in the Scots. 8. The 5. and 20. part. 9. The Weekly Assessment for my L. Generals Army. 10. The Weekly (or Monthly) Assessment for Sir Thomas Fairfax Army. 11. The Weekly Assessment for the Scottish Army. 12. The Weekly Assessment for the Brittish Army in Ireland. 13. The Weekly Assessment for my Lord of Manchester's Army. 14. Free-quarter (at least) convived at by the State, because the Souldiers having for a time subsistence that way, are the lesse craving for their pay: whereby their Arrears growing stale, will, at last, either be frustrated by a tedious Committee of Accounts or forgotten, in the meane time, the Grand Committee of Accounts discount it out of the Commanders Arrears, whereby the State saves it. 15. the Kings Revenue. 16. Sequestrations and Plunder.

14.
Taxes.

der by Committees, which if well answered to the State would have carried on the worke : which thus I demonstrate, One halfe of all the goods and chattels, and (at least) one halfe of all the Lands, Rents and Revenues of the Kingdome have been Sequestred. And who can imagine that one halfe of the Profits and Goods of the Land will not maintaine any Forces that can be kept and fed in *England* for the defence thereof? 17. Excise upon all things. This alone if well managed would maintaine the Warre, the Low-Countries make it almost their onely support. 18. Fortification money, &c. By these severall wayes and Taxes about 40 Millions in money and money-worth have been milked from the people: and the Parliament (as the Pope did once) may call England, *Puteum inexhaustum*; yet is it now almost drawn dry. A vast Treasure and so excessive, as nothing but a long peace could import; and nothing but much fraud and many follies could dissipate. And we ought not to wonder if it be accounted *inter arcana novissimi imperii*, to be alwaies making, yet never finishing an account therof.

15

Accounts.

And as they have artificially confounded the accompts by laying on multiplicity of Taxes; so (for the same reason) they let the money run in so many muddy, obscure chanells, through so many Committees and Officers fingers, both for collecting, receiving, issuing and paying it forth, that it is impossible to make or ballance any publique account thereof: and at the least one halfe thereof is knowne for to be devoured by Committees and Officers; and those that for lucre protect them. By these meanes as they make many men partners with them in the publique spoyles, so they much strengthen and increase their party, whereby *multitudo peccantium tollit paenam*.

*Accounts
againe.*

If these things were not purposely done, 1. our Taxes would be fewer in number, and more in effect. 2. They would be put to run in one channell, under the fingering of fewer Harpies, and perspicuous and true Entries made of all receipts and disbursments, which would be publique to common view and examination. The Exchequer way of Accompts is the exactest, ancientest, and best known way of account of England, and most free from deceit: Which is almost confessed *de facto*, when, to make the Kings Revenue more obnoxious to their desires, they took

took it out of the Exchequer way, (contrary to the Fundamentall Lawes of the Land ; for both the Higher and Lower Exchequer are as ancient and fundamentall as any Court in England) and put it under a Committee, which, as all other Committees doe, will render an account of their stewardship at the latter day. In the meane time divers of that Committee buy in old sleeping Pensions which they pay themselves from the first of their arreares : yet other men that have disbursed money out of their purses for the Kings Service, can receive no pay for any money laid forth before *Michaelmas* Terme, 1643. because (forsooth) then the Committee first took charge of the Revenue. In the meane time the Kings Tenants and Debtors are deprived of the benefit of the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject, which before they enjoyed : all Debts and Monies being now raised by the terror of Pursuivants and Messengers, whose Commissions are onely to distrain and levy, &c. whereas formerly the Exchequer sent out legall Process, and the Tenant or Debtor had liberty to plead to it in his owne defence, if he thought himselfe wronged ; but now New Lords, new Lawes, and to countenance their doings, the Committee have gotten an addition of some Lords to them. 3. If there were faire play above board, so many Members of both Houses would not be ambitious of the trouble and clamour that attends Task-Masters, Publicans, and such sinners as sit at the receipt of Custome, being no part of the busynesse, for which the writ summons, or the people choose or trust them, and whereby they are diverted from the busynesse of the House : but would leave that imployment to other men who not having the character and privilege of Parliament upon them, will be lesse able to protect themselves & their agerts from giving publique accounts of their receipts and disburments and from putting affronts and delayes upon the Committee of Accompts, as (it is well known) some of them have done. Lastly, it is scandalous that the same men should be continued so long in their money imployments because *Diuturnitas & solitudo corrumponit Imperia* ; and by long continuance and experiance they grow so hardened, so cunning in their way and so backed with dependencies, that it is almost impossible to trace them. And although (when wee look upon the many persons imployed) we cannot say there is *solitudo personarum* ;

yet when we consider that by a long partnership in their imployments they are allied together in one common interest; they are to be esteemed but as one man, for a Corporation of men is but many men joyned together as one man, and with one mind pursuing one and the same end or interest.

16.
Committee
of Accounts.

And though they have a generall Committee of Accompts, yet they were nominated by those members that ought to give Accompts: and it must needs be suspiciois for an Accomptant to choose those persons before whom he shall accompt. And we see (after so long a time of their sitting) no fruit thereof. Whereas the people did hope, that after so much money spent, and such great debts and arrears left to pay, (whereby they are threatned with continuance of their Taxes) That a full and exact geneall accompt of all Receipts and Disburments would haue been published in Print, for their satisfaction as is usually done in the Low Countries, and as was once done by this Parliament, Anno 1642. by a Declaration of the accounts of the Kingdome.

But, it may be the Synod in favour of the Grandees have voted that place in Scripture. (*Render an account of thy Steward-ship*) to be but Apocryphall.

17.
Wants of the
Parl. and
how occasio-
ned.

By these exorbitant courses, through they have drayned 40 Millions from the people yet (as Philip of Macedon was said to be *Inter quotidias rapinas semper inops*) they are falne to such ridiculous want and beggerie, that they have lately pawned almost all the security they have for 20000. l. to disband the Army, and enter upon the Irish imployment. They have slit Goldsmiths Hall in funder, and given one side thereof to the City, and kept the other halfe thereof to themselves, and that already bargained with 20000. l. at least. So that if any sudden occasion happen, they have put their purse into the hands of the uncircumcised Jews of the City, and cannot raise one penny but by new taxes upon the people. It was worth observing to see how officiously some of the old Stagers took leave of the Publicke Purse before it came into Hucksters hands. Alderman Pennington had a debt of 3000. l. he owed to Sir John Pennington forgiven him, (he never asked forgiveness of his sins more heartily) and 3000. l. more given him out of Goldsmiths-Hall in course. The reason of this bountie was forked or two-fold:

1. Because he had got enough before.

2. To comfort his heart, for being left out of the City Militia. But the most observable thing was, to see this old Parliament like a young Prodigal take up mony upon difficult termes, & intangle all they had for a security.

1. They gave way to the City to hedge in an old debt, being a loane of money after the rate of 50. Subsidyes : and other old debts.

2. Whereas 200000.l. onely was the summe to be borrowed ; the City injoyned them to take up 230000. l. whereof the odde 30000. l. to be bestowed for relief of decayed occupiers of the City : So that, upon the matter, the Parliament payes 30000.l. Broakage.

3. That the City may not trust the greatest unthrifts of Christendome with laying out their own money ; they put upon them two Treasurers of the City to receive & disburse it for the service for which it was borrowed. So ye see they have now neither credit, money, nor a partie to put it in.

So that the *modest Members* who have beeene more forward to help their Country then themselves, are left in the lurch for their losses, and exposed to the laughter of their elder brothers the old *Junto men* and Factious leaders of the house ; all being now engaged to the *Lombards* of the City. The *thriving Members* hope their younger brothers will continuall as modest, as they have beeene, and digest all with patience. But others, and those neither tools nor knaves, hope all the *modest and middle men* of the houses, such as are engaged in no faction, will be provoked hereby to draw into a third party or *Junto*, to moderate the excesses of the other two, when any thing prejudicial to the Common-wealth is agitated : and to call the old *Junto* men, those land Pyrates to account, making them cast up what they have swallowed, and bring it to a common *dividend*. Or rather to pay the Army and publique debts, whereby the people may be eased of their pressures. Nor let them be discouraged with the supposed difficulty hereof, since 20. or 30. men holding together, and observing the crosse debates, and different sway of each party, may easily make themselves moderators of their differences, and turn the scales for the best advantage of the common, which way they please to cast in.

18.

*Modest and
middle mem-
bers.*

their votes, since it is very rare to have any question carried by more then eight or tenne voyces.

29.
Grandees
provision to
save them-
selves.

Most of these *Grandees* are reported to have for their retreats, houses in the Low Countries richly furnished with sequestred Plate Linnen, and Stoffe : and great store of money in bank for their shelter, against such stormes as their Rapine, Tyrannie and Ignorance may happily raise here amongst us. In those their retirements, these Authors of our miseries will enjoy their sinnes, & our spoiles in security attending an opportunity to purchase their peace at last, and betray our Safeties and Liberties to the enraged Prince and People. This is called robbing the *Ægyptians*. And doubtless these ambitious State-Mountebanks have brought us into a darknes worse then *Ægyptian*. The text saith, the *Ægyptians* rose not from their places in three dayes : They yet knew where they were : which is more then we do, every man being out of his place & ranck. The Servant in place of his Master, the Begger in place of the King the Foole in place of the Councillour the Theef in place of the Judge, the Cheater in place of the Treasurer, the Clowne in place of the Gentleman ; none but God alone can play *Dedalus* part, and give us a Clue to lead us out of this labyrinth, into which these unpolitique *Hocas Posasses* have brought us. These unskilfull workmen that have built up Babel, and pulled down Sion. Others are said to prepare Forraigne Plantations for Retreat; To people which, children are ravished from their parents arms and Shipped away; an abomination not known in England before, and therefore no competent Law made against it ; no more then in ancient Rome against Parricides.

20.
Grandees
their severall
byterian and
Independent
strengths.

By what hath been already said, you see what the severall and what the conjoynd interests of these two *Iunto's* or *Factions* Pres- their severall byterian and Independent are. Let us now consider where their interests and severall strength yes. The Independent groundeth his strength upon designes and the Army, which if he can keepe up, he hopes to give the Law to all ; and to produce that great Chymæra *Liberty of Conscience*: not considering that the confusion and licentiousnesse of such a liberty will destroy it selfe, *Libertas Libertate perit*. The Presbyterians have three pillarsto support them. 1. *The City* is their cheife foundation with which they keepe a strict correspondencie, and dayly communication of Councells. Upon this considerati- on,

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on, they have lately put the Parliament Purse into the Cities Pocket as aforesaid; settled and enlarged the City Militia; Where-as all the Countries of England (being more obnoxious to injuries than the City) suffer much for want of settling their Militia; the Parliament not trusting them with Arms, so much as for their owne defence: An evident signe there is a further designe then disbanding this Army. And because the City Militia can onely keepe in awe the adjacent South and East counties of the Kingdome; therefore to suppress the remoter parts, and inforce them to obedience, they keep up some *in-land Garisons*, and have the Scots and *G. Poynez supernumerary forces* for the North. And in *the West* (under colour of sending men for Ireland) they keepe upon free quarter and pay of the country, *many supernumerary Regiments* and Troops most cavaliers; at least five times as many as they really intend to transport. These are alwayes going but never gone: Like Saint George, alwayes in his saddle, never on his way. Something ever is, and shall be wanting untill Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army be disbanded; and then (it is thought) the disguise will fall off, and these supernumeraries shall appear a new modelled Army under Presbyterian commanders, you may be sure, and such whose consciences shall not befoole their wits, where any matter of gain appeareth; If this be not their ayme, why did they not disband these lewd Superaumeraries before last winter, since they might have raised as many men the spring following for half the charge their very free quarters cost? And most of these sweare they will not go for Ireland, vowing they will cut the throats of the Round-Heads.

The Country is amazed, fearing these cavaliers are kept on free quarter by a cavaleerish party for some cavaleerish Designe. Secondly, why did they not rather divide Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Army into two parts, one to go for Ireland, the other to stay in England, being already modelled, Excellently disciplined, and having the visible marks of Gods favour upon their actions? But to take a few for Ireland, a few for England, and leave a Coare in the middle to be plucked forth and disbanded, was the way to discontent them, and put them into mutiny: and thereby necessitate the Parliament to disband them all: and give an opportunity to them that seek it, to new modell another army out of the

21.
Presbyters.

(14)

aforesaid Supernumeraries more pliable to the desires of the Presbyterian Janes; Adde hereunto the causelesse exasperating speeches and aspersions cast upon most of the Army purposely, as moderate men think, to discontent them. Thirdly if they have no intent to keep up an Army against the people, why have they continued the military charge for another yeare; and enlarged it from 52000 l. to 60000 l. a moneth?

Thus the *City*, *In-Land Garisons* and *Supernumerarie*; Forces new modelled are like to prove the thicketringed whip, wherewith the Presbyterian Phaetons will drive their triumphant Chariot, if they prevail; to which may be added the *Presbeters* themselves, who by overawing mens Consciences wirth their Doctrine, will subdue and work mens minds like wax to receive any impression of bondage, that tyranny and oppression can set upon them, as they do in Scotland: The Clergy in all times and places, have ever held with the mighty, as the Jacco hunts still with the Lion to partake of his prey. The Clergy have ever had an itch to be medling with State-affaires which shewes how contemptible an opinion they have of their own Coate, that they can finde no contentment in it; yet they would have the Laity to have a reverend opinion of it. The Popish Clergy draw all Civill Affaires, publike and private, under their jurisdiction and cognisance, *quaenam* there is *peccatum* in all humane actions; the Presbiterians *quaenam* there is *scandalum* in all humane actions, what is the oddes? *Pec-
catum* is the mother, *scandalum* the daughter, and both pretend they do this *in ordine ad Deum*. But universall experience teacheth us how miserable that Common-wealth is, where the corruption of a Church-man proves the generation of a States-man.

The premises considered, I shall propound these ensuing *Querries* to those that are of better judgement then my self.

*Querries upon
the premises.*

1. *Quere*, VVhy the title and punishment of Malignants is translated from the Cavaliers who fought for Regall Tyranny against the Parliament, and laid upon those that fought against Regall Tyranny for the Parliament. Is it not because those Cavaliers that have fought for one Tyranny will not be scrupulous to fight for another? and such well affected as have opposed Tyranny in one kinde, will not admit of it in another? VVhy is it now

now accounted a note of malignity and disaffection to endeavour the putting down of Arbitrary Government and re-establishing our Lawes, liberties and properties; whereto the Par .by their many Declarations and their national Covenant are bound? Lay this to heart, and consider whether they have not changed these their first principles, and consequently whether they are not desirous to change their old friends who resolutely adhere to the said principles.

2. If the King grant the Propositions ; or if he deny them, and the *Predominant Junto* (or both Junto's joyned together, to drive on one common interest?) for it is now thought they are upon an accommodation to keep up that power *conjunctionis* which they deuaire to uphold *divisim*) establish the military and civill power without him, according to their desires, and in order to their aymes. *Quare*, whether the said leading men settled in their postures with their confidant guards about them, may not draw after them so many of their party, as upon an implicite faith will follow them and lick up the crums of the publique spoiles under their Tables : expelling or disabling (as aforesaid) the disengaged members, and by this policy make themselves perpetuall Dictators, incorporating and ingrossing to themselves both the consultive , Directive and Ministeriall power of the Kingdom in all causes civil and Militarie setting up an *Oligarchy* or popuar Tyranny instead of a Regall : As the thirty Tyrants of Athens die. In order whereto they already declare, 1. That an Ordinance of Parliament without the Kings Royall assent is equall to an Act of Parliament. 2. That an Ordinance is above a Law by virtue of their Legislative power: upon which presuming in their Ordinance of indemnity they have granted an Appaile from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament. See the Ordinance May 21. 1647. 3. That they are the irrevocable Trustees of the peoples lawes, liberties and properties, without account: with other *principles preparative to Tyrannie*.

3. *Quare* VVhy Arbitrary and Barbarous Government by Committees & other Illegall proceedings (which in time of war were used upon Reall or pretended necessity, and were then onely excusable, because *necessitas solit Legem*) are still continued upon

us now intime of peace, no enemies troubling our quiet, and without any further pretence of necessity, contrary to their Nationall Covenant, and all their Declarations? Is it not, to inure the people to servitude, and exercise their patience?

4. *Quere*, Whether the prodigious oppressions of Committees, Sequestrators, &c. and of Free-quarter, be not purposely countenanced to necessitate the people to rise in tumults, that thence occasion may be taken to keep In-land Garrisons and Armies?

5. *Quere*, Whether our Lawes, Liberties and Properties are not now as lyable to an Invasion from the *Legis-lative power*, as formerly from the *Prerogative*? considering that those who like ambitious *Absalom* courted and wooed the people in the beginning of troubles, now like haughty *Rehoboams* care not though the people complain: Their little finger is heavier then the loins of the King. The controversie between the two *Junto's* being no more, then whose slaves we shall be.

6. *Quere*, Whether if the King hereafter tread in the steps of this Parliament and their Committees, he will not be a greaer Tyrant then either the Turk, Russe, or French, and have as absolute dominion over his subjects as the Devill hath over damned soules in Hell? And how dangerous these presidents may be to those Lawes and Liberties which we have sworne to main-taine?

33. If the *middle and disengaged men* in the House, doe not speedily *Middle and unite* themselves into a party or *Junto*, as the factious have done, *Moderate* and communicate their counsels; They wil be *arena sine calce*, loose and dissipated by every breath: and neither serviceable for themselves nor their countrey. Whereas if they unite twenty or thirty may become Moderators and Vmpeers between both parties; (as hath beene already said) Let the moderate men but consider how sad and dishonourable a thing it is, to see nothing almost of great and publique concernment come into the House, but what hath bin *before hand contrived, debated and digested* in one or both of the two *Junto's* at their *private meetings*: and put into so resol ved and prejudicate a way and method of dispatch, that every man is appointed his part or Cue before-hand: One man to move it, and set it on foot, another to second him: One man speake

to one part of the argument, another to another part : another to keep himselfe to the last for a reserve, and speak to the question, which he is provided to qualifie with a distinction, or vary it, if he find it difficult to passe. Thus all publique businesses are measured by private respects; whereby it appears, that as *frequens Parl. are good physick*: so continuall Parl. are *bad food*; & the people may complain, that *qui medice vivit misere vivit*. Parliaments are *Bona peritura*; they cannot keepe long without Corruption. Their perpetuity emboldens the members, by taking from them all feare of being called to account: Especially if they get their sonnes into the House as well as themselves (as many have done this Parliament: and more endeavour to do) whereby they have an estate in their places for two or three lives; Moreover by long sitting they become so familiar with one anothers Persons and designes, as to serve one anothers turnes, to joyne interests, and to draw into factions, *Hodie mihi cras tibi*. If you and your party will helpe me to day, I and my friends will help you to morrow.

*Miseris Resp: ubi majestas Imperii, & salus populi discordibus
conflictantur studiis.* What shall we say?

En quo discordia tetra—perduxit miseros?

Shall we complaine to God? God hath a controversie with us. Of whom shall we complaine? Of our selves? we must first reform our selves: We that take upon us to reforme Church and Common-wealth. Shall we complaine of our sinnes? aske the grace of repentance first; and so aske that we may obtaine. Shall we complaine of our punishments? Let us first repent, and amend our sins that caused them. Let us first pluck off the mask of hypocrisie, God will see through such a fantastical garment of Fig-leaves. Let us no longer make Religion a stalking-horse; God who is all Wisdome and all Truth, will not be deceived. If we talke like Christians, and walke like Turkes, Christ will not dwyne us. To fast for a day, and hang our heads like bulrushes, will not reconcile us. VVe must fast from publique spoyles, rapines and oppression, and not drink the tears of the poore and needy. Shall we complaine with the Prophet, That our Princes are become Theeves? that was heretofore our complaint, now we must invert it, and cry: That our Theeves (meane and base people) are

24.
*Conclusion
with some
complaints.*

become Priuers. VVe are sick, very sick, intemperately sick; and God hath given us a Physician in his wrath, a leper as white as snow, fitter to infect then cure us. VVhat Physick doth he prescribe? Payson. VVhat Diet? Stones in stead of bread, Scorpions in stead of fishes, hard fare for them that formerly fed so daintily. Before I conclude let me give you the Pedigree of our Miseries, and of their remedies. A long Peace begat Plenty, Plenty begat Pride and her sister Riot; Pride begat Ambition, Ambition begat Faction, Faction begot Civill warre: And (if our evils be not incurable, if we be not fallen *in id temporis quo nec vita nostra, nec vorum remedia ferne possumus*) our warre will beget Poverty, Poverty Humility, Humility Peace again, *Sic rerum revertentibus vicibus annulno vertitur Politicus.* The declining spoake of the wheel will rise againe. But we are not yet sufficiently humbled, we have not repented with *Nanueb.* We weare Silks, and Velvetts in stead of Sack-clath, and ashes (even the meanest up-stair hath his thefts writ upon his back by his Tailour in proud Characters of Gold lace) we have not watered our couch with our Teares, but with adulterous swear. Looke to it therefore ye state *Incubi,* that by an incestuous copulation have begot plenty upon Warre, and filled your houses with the spoyle and plunder of your deare Country; an inundation of blood, and of the tears of the oppressed will wash away the foundation of your houses; And peace will be farre from you in this world, but especially that peace which the world cannot give: And because *Salaman-*
~~der~~ like you delight in the fire of contention; an unquenchable fire will be your lot hereafter. And though you escape all accounts here, yet upon the great day of account when you shall receive your sentence of condemnation; those your children for whose preferment you sell your souls, your God for gold, shall not shew so much thankfulness of pity towards you, as to say, alas one father! But your hearts are hardened with *Pharaoh,* I leave you therefore to *Pharaohs* destiny, to be drowned in your own RedSea, as he was in his.

25.

*Resolution &
Scope of the
Author.*

Thus farre I adventured to vindicate our Religion, Lawes and Liberties with my pen; in discharge of my Conscience, and purfiance of our Nationall Covenant which obligeth us to defend them against whosoever to our power; neither knowing nor car-

ring

ring whether in so wicked an age (wherein vice is honoured, and vertue contemned) I may be thought worthy of punishment for being more righteous then my superiors. I know an honest man is wondered at like a monster, and the innocency of his life and conversation suspected as a Libell against the State, yet if I perish I perish ; & pereundum in licetis. Nor am I lesse provided of a safe retreat then our Grandees. My grave is open for me, and one foot in it already. *Contemptit omnes ille qui mortem prius.* He that contemnes death, scornes both Hope and Feare ; which are the only affections that make Knaves, Fooles and Cowards of all the world. The world is a goodly Theater, we the Actors, God is Poet and chiefe spectator. VVe must not choose our owne parts, that is at Gods appointment. One man he appoints to play the King, another the Begger, one a Comick, another a Tragick part : VVhatsoever part God hath appointed for me in this remainder of my life, I will have a care to personate it ingenuously and aptly : Not doubting but my *Exit* shall be accompanied with an applause into my tyring Roome, my Tombe ? nor will I refuse the meanest part that may draw a Plaudit from so excellent a spectator, but will prepare my selfe for the worst of evills in this worst of times ; and pray to God to reforme our Reformers. *Amen.*

T H E E N D,

the same time, the
whole of the
country is
covered with
a dense
growth of
trees, which
are mostly
of a dark
color, and
have a
smooth
surface.
The soil
is very
fertile,
and
is
well
adapted
for
the
cultivation
of
cotton,
wheat,
barley,
oats,
and
other
grains.
The
people
are
mostly
of
the
African
race,
and
are
very
kindly
and
friendly.
They
are
very
poor,
but
are
contented
with
what
they
have,
and
are
easily
satisfied.
The
country
is
very
large,
and
is
not
fully
explored,
but
it
is
known
to
be
a
rich
and
fertile
region.

CHARLES

4-1767